

JOCHELSON, THE KORYAK.

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tribe (with the exception of those that serve individual shamans¹), the "protectors or guardians" belong each to a family, an individual, and in some cases to a whole village. In general, the guardians form a group of objects that are supposed to take care of the welfare of man, and keep away all evil from him. The particular function of the guardians depends upon the office with which they are charged. The same little figure may act as the guardian of a family or of an individual. Nevertheless some "guardians" have definite forms and duties.

I shall now enumerate those guardians about which I have succeeded in gathering information, and which are contained in the collection of the Museum.

SACRED IMPLEMENTS FOR FIRE-MAKING. — The sacred implements for making fire are the following: —

A fire-board with holes in it, called *gi'gei* or *ge'tgei* (Chukchee, *gi'gir*), in which the drill is turned. The board is usually of dry aspen-wood, which readily ignites, and is roughly shaped like a human being. A head is carved out

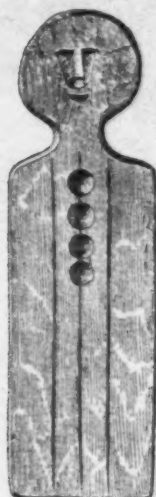


Fig. 2. Sacred Fire-making Implements of the Maritime Koryak. *a, b* ($\frac{1}{16}$ 3, $\frac{1}{16}$ 3), Fire-Boards (length, 42 cm., 25 cm.); *c, d, e* ($\frac{1}{16}$ 3, $\frac{1}{16}$ 3), Bow, Wooden Drill, and Stone Head-Piece (length of bow, 47 cm.).

at one end; and eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated (Fig. 2, *a, b*). In some boards the opposite end is carved to represent the legs.

A small bow, called *e'yet* (Fig. 2, *c*).

A wooden drill, called *ma'xem* ("arrow"), Fig. 2, *d*.

¹ See Chapter IV, Professional Shamans.

532 A head-piece of stone or of bone, with a shallow socket, called *čeñe'yine*
 322 (Fig. 2, *e*), which is put upon the thin upper end of the drill; while the thick
 778 lower end of the drill is set into one of the holes in the board. The head-
 272 piece (*e*) is held by one person, the board by another, while the bow is turned
 by a third person (see Plate VI). The thin end of the wooden drill, and one
 end of stone head-piece, have holes bored in them, that they may be tied,
 when not in use, to the straps at the end of the bow (Fig. 2, *e*).

The fire-drill is not complete without a small leather bag filled with small
 pieces of coal, in which the coal-dust produced by drilling is collected. It is
 considered a sin to scatter the coal-dust.

The Maritime as well as the Reindeer Koryak consider the sacred fire-
 board, first of all, the deity of the household fire, the guardian of the family
 hearth. During important festivals and ceremonies, which will be described
 later on, fire is obtained by means of these sacred fire-boards.

The other functions of this charm are different among the two groups
 of Koryak. Among the Maritime Koryak the sacred fire-board is the master
 of the underground house and the helper in the hunt of sea-mammals, while
 among the Reindeer people it figures as the master of the herd. The Maritime
 Koryak call it "father" (*a'pa*); the Reindeer people, "master of the herd"
 (*qaya'-et'nvila'n*) or "wooden kamak" (*otkamak*).

[353] At the left side of the house of the Maritime Koryak, near the door
 leading to the porch, a place is usually set aside for guardians and charms,
 and it is called the "stake-house" (*op-yan*). There wooden charms are driven
 into the ground or set against the wall. The sacred fire-board is the most
 important among the images of this shrine. It is adorned with a collar made
 of sedge-grass, which is used in all sacrifices. This collar serves the charm
 in place of clothing. It is "fed" from time to time by smearing its mouth
 [788] with fat. This is done not only during festivals that have a direct bearing
 on its cult, but also on the occasion of all other religious and family festivals.
 From the sacrificial fat, the soot of the hearth, and the indescribable filth
 prevailing in the Koryak house, the charm becomes covered with a heavy
 coat of shining black filth; and the more highly esteemed the charm is, the
 dirtier and the blacker will it become. When, owing to frequent use, the
 entire base of the charm is filled with holes, a new board is made. The old
 one, however, is left, like a deserving veteran, in the place set aside for the
 sacred objects. When moving from the winter house into the summer house,
 nearer to the sea, the Maritime Koryak takes his charms along; but some-
 times summer and winter house have each their own sacred fire-board. I
 remember having seen the Koryak Yulta make a new sacred fire-board for
 his winter house because he had forgotten his old one in the summer house;
 and when the following summer came, he left the new sacred fire-board in
 his winter house. In the summer of 1900, when visiting a deserted settlement

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along the Paren River, I found a sacred fire-board that had been left behind in one of the houses. It was lying on the ground near the wall, covered with dust, among some seal-bones, old dishes, and scraps of clothing.

The sacred fire-board of the Reindeer Koryak, the "master of the herd" (qaya'-etr'vila'n), is kept during the winter in a bag on a pack-sledge or on the covered sledge, which is occupied during travels by the mother and the small children. When the wandering family makes a stop, the sledges are left outside, near the tent. During the summer the sacred fire-board hangs on a cross-beam in the tent.

Besides the articles enumerated above, that are necessary for obtaining fire by drilling, and the bag for the coal-dust, the "master of the herd" of



Fig. 3. Sacred Fire Implements of the Reindeer Koryak. a (yifw a), Fire-Board, or "Master of the Herd," with Attachments (length of fire-board, 33 cm.); b (yifw a-yifw a), Attachments from a Fire-Board, representing the Assistants of the "Master of the Herd" (length, 10 cm.).

the Reindeer Koryak is also supplied with a lasso, a watch-dog, a sacrificial ladle, an image of a wolf (Fig. 3, a), and several little wooden figures. The sacred fire-board keeps the wolf near him to prevent his assailing the herd, while the little forked figures (Fig. 3, b) serve as his assistants in guarding the herd, and are called oya'čiku, which properly means "boys," "fellows," although this word has also the meaning of "laborers" and "herdsmen." The sacred fire-board also secures the herd against sickness, and prevents the

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796 on the prow. Shaking the grass, the people say, "Well, start off!" Then they enter the house, dress up the sacred fire-board in a toy coat, put around its neck a thong with a harpoon, give it a knife, and carry it outside. The owner of the house says to it, "Now, go to the boat!" (Toq! A'tve'ti qatai'!) Then somebody in the house coughs, as though replying to some one, and says, "Aha! father has returned." The sacred fire-board is then taken back into the house and put away to rest until the following spring. I was unable to find out the significance of this symbolic departure of the boat-frame and sacred fire-board, and the return of the latter into the house. It may be surmised that the spirit of the boat and of the sacred fire-board depart for the sea to stay there for the winter.

796 In the village of Kuel, the ceremonies of sending the boat out to sea, and the starting of a new fire, take place independently of each other. The boat is sent to sea immediately after the close of the hunting-season. From the time when the skins are taken off from the boat until the moment when the frame with the sacrificial grass, and the alder-branches as its oarsmen, is placed on the snow, no fire is allowed to burn in the house. The frame of the boat remains on the snow throughout the winter (see Plate VII, Fig. 1).

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796 In Kuel a new fire is procured from the sacred fire-board after the first new moon of winter. The old fire on the hearth is again put out, and then the new fire is started in the house. Three men without coats, half naked, participate in this performance. One holds the sacred fire-board; another, the upper support of the drill; while the third one works with the drill-bow (Plate VI).

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796 *The Launching of the Skin Boat.* — The spring festival of launching the boat is called "Mena'tmeyevune," which means literally, "Let us launch the boat," and is also a family festival. The seal-skin cover of the boat is soaked in water and put on the boat-frame, which is placed bottom up. The edges of the cover are turned inside, and tied with straps to the frame. Then a sacrificial fire is obtained from the sacred fire-board, and is kept burning under the upturned boat. Pieces of seal-fat are thrown into the fire as a sacrifice to the boat, and the mouth of the sacred fire-board is smeared with fat. Then its eyes are cleaned with a knife, and they say to it, "Well, your eyes have become clear, the sea is open, look out." (Ga, lela't e'tha'tbe, a'nqan gava'ntalin, qihite'hm!) The fire under the boat is allowed to die out, and the upturned boat is left to dry. Then it is launched.

532 *The Wearing of Masks.* — Heretofore it was not known that the Koryak wore masks in connection with their religious ceremonies. Not one of the former travellers makes mention of them.¹ I referred above to the use of

¹ There are no indications, either in Krasheninnikoff's or in Steller's descriptions of the Kamchadal, that they wore any wooden or grass masks, although Krasheninnikoff does mention that during the fall festival of "purification from sins" those participating in it used to adorn themselves with sacrificial grass, out of which they made wreaths, necklaces, and belts.

VIII. — HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS. — The ancient method of making fire, by means of a drill, is at present employed only in religious ceremonies. Since the fire-drill is esteemed as the most important protector of the family,¹ it may be concluded that the Koryak looked upon fire as a beneficent agent. There are sacrifices in honor of the fire; fire is also a mediator between man and the deities, since offerings are burned in it.² At the present time the use of sulphur or Swedish matches is quite widespread. Even when obtaining the sacred fire, some Koryak turn the drill for a short time as a formality only, and the fire is really kindled with a match; but they cannot always obtain matches, so that the most common means of obtaining fire is the strike-a-light. Although not much used, the strike-a-light seems to have been known to the Koryak prior to their encounter with the Russians, having been introduced by the Tungus, who had received it from the Amur tribes. Even now, merchants often import from Vladivostok steel and flint of Chinese origin. Tinder is prepared from a fungus which grows on the stumps of birch-trees. The fungus is stripped of its hard outer layer, and the inner spongy mass is boiled in water. Then it is dried; and a light, brittle, and highly inflammable punk is thus obtained.

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Fire-making tools are more often needed by the nomadic Reindeer Koryak than by the sedentary Maritime people. A new fire need rarely be made in the underground houses of the Maritime Koryak. The women are very skilful in keeping up the fire of the hearth. They cover the embers with ashes; and when reviving the fire, they rake it up, put small chips of wood on the glowing embers, and fan them until they burst into flame. The Maritime Koryak need fire-tools only on journeys. However, when in possession of matches, they are very fond of striking them to light their lamps or pipes, even when the fire is burning on the hearth. On the other hand, if the fire goes out entirely, and neither match nor tinder is on hand, the ancient method of obtaining fire by means of the drill-bow is resorted to. This, however, happens very rarely.

For purposes of lighting, a stone lamp (x'ek) is used. It is made of sandstone, in the shape of a shallow basin. The lamp is placed on a wooden block or stand from 50 cm. to 60 cm. in height. Fig. 99 represents two of these lamps and stands, which I obtained from the Maritime Koryak.

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¹ See Part I, pp. 33-36; Fig. 2, 3; Plate VI, opp. p. 79.² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

JOCHELSON, THE KORYAK. *Among the Reim-367*
deer Koryak stone lamps have gone out of use, just as among the 354
 Chukchee. They are replaced by round iron frying-pans without handles, 177
 which are imported by Russian merchants. The Maritime Koryak relate that [172]
 in olden times they also made clay lamps (sa'yek, "earthen or clay lamp:"
 from sa, "earth or clay;" and yek, "lamp") such as are still used by the
 Chukchee and Eskimo; but among the finds made in excavating ancient
 underground houses, I did not come across a single clay lamp. In one
 house I found a lamp made of a whale-vertebra (yu'ntem'ek, i. e., "of bone
 of whale lamp"). It is represented in Fig. 100.

The lamp of the Maritime Koryak serves for lighting exclusively. Wood
 is used for heating and cooking. The hearth has been described before.¹
 Driftwood is cut in summer and autumn for use as fuel. The wood
 is split into thin billets 50 cm. or 75
 cm. long, which catch fire quickly
 and do not smoke much. It is stored
 away on the roof of the house.² The
 fire is started twice every day, — in
 the morning, on rising; and in the
 evening, before going to bed, — at
 the time of the two principal meals. The morning fire also warms the house
 for the day, the evening fire for the night. In the middle of the day the
 fire is rarely started. In general, the sedentary Koryak are saving of their
 fuel, even in settlements where there is no lack of wood. If guests arrive
 during the day, a fire is made to make tea and to warm the house.

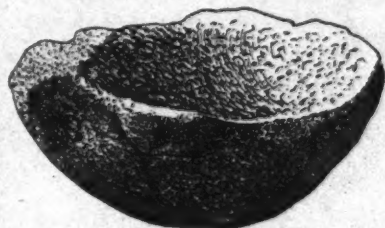


Fig. 100 (317). Lamp made of the Vertebra
 of a Whale. Length, 14 cm.

To a certain degree, the lamp of the Reindeer Koryak heats the sleeping-
 tent in which it burns; but food and tea are prepared on the hearth, in the
 outer tent.³ I have never seen food heated over the lamp in the sleeping-
 tent. Tea and boiled food are served by the women in the sleeping-tent. 252
 This, more than the lamp, aids in heating the sleeping-room. 354
 Over the lamp, however, wet footwear and mittens are hung to dry; but generally the drying
 of wet clothes is done in front of the hearth in the outer tent, or by freezing
 them out of doors, beating off the ice, and then warming them by the fire.

Properly speaking, the Koryak have no furniture whatever. The favorite
 position is sitting on the ground or on skins, with legs either crossed Turkish
 fashion or stretched out, or crouching. In the houses of the Maritime Koryak,
 the low thresholds which divide the sleeping-places from the middle part of
 the house are always used as seats; and in the outer tents of the Reindeer
 Koryak the sledges, which are brought in, and on which lie the bags of
 provisions, are utilized for this purpose. 352
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¹ See p. 452.

² See p. 459.

³ See p. 450.

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A stone bone-breaking set is one of the indispensable belongings of every household. It consists of a large stone slab or anvil, called *ijho'ñin* ("board-stone") and a stone pestle (*cipe'ñin*) or hammer. Both are selected from among the water-worn pebbles on the banks of rivers. The Koryak themselves do not work them into shape. The board-stone must have one smooth, even surface; and the hammer, an oblong shape, round at the ends. Two hammers are shown in Fig. 102. On the board-stone, bones are crushed with

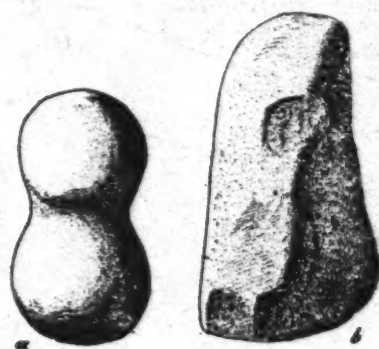


Fig. 102. *a* (ijho'ñin), *b* (ijho'ñin). Stone Hammers.
Length, 12 cm., 17 cm. *a*, From Kamenskoye; *b*, From Tilqai River.

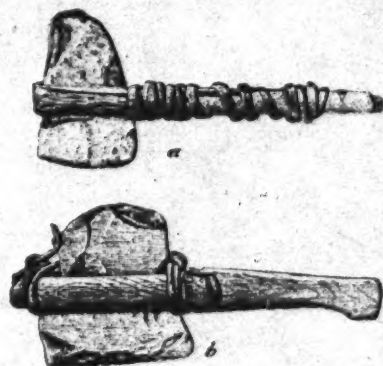


Fig. 103. *a* (ijho'ñin), *b* (ijho'ñin). Stone Hatchets.
Length, about 30 cm.

the hammer to extract the marrow or to boil out the tallow for lighting; hard dried fish is softened on it or pounded with berries; roots are pounded for cooking gruel and for making puddings; and meat with fat is pounded for cutlets.¹

Edible herbs, chiefly willow-herb (*Epilobium angustifolium*), are chopped on the stone anvil by means of stone hatchets. Two of these are shown in Fig. 103. The cutting-edge is sharpened by chipping, just like the edges of stone arrows and knives.² The handle of the hatchet *a* is made of a willow rod split in two and bent double, the hatchet being set between the two bent halves, the free ends of which are tied together with thongs. Another method of hafting is shown in *b*. The wooden handle is placed on one side of the hatchet, while on the other a short stick is applied, the ends of which are tied firmly to the handle. The grooved stone axe is held firmly between the two sticks.

The Koryak drink much water. They often get up in the night to take a drink of cold water, of which they always have a supply in wooden or

¹ See p. 578.

² See Chapter X.

326 long, narrow, ornamented, and well finished. The spears for every-day use
412 are not ornamented. They are of simple and rough workmanship. Some
spears are made with a ridge in the middle, which is also often met with
on spears from the Amur region (see, Fig. 195).

Knives for special kinds of work are represented in Fig. 144. The
woman's knife, *a* (*ñau-wal*) is of a sickle-shape, its form being an imitation
of the ancient flat knife made of slate.¹

281 The woman's knife has no sheath. It is kept in the work-bag, together
412 with shavings of skin. With this knife, women cut skins and furs for clothing.²
177 The cutting is done on a cutting-board. Koryak women rarely use scissors.
Imported broadcloth for the upper coat, and calico for shirts, are also cut
with the knife. Koryak blacksmiths do not manufacture scissors. The large
shears shown by Bogoras³ are the work of Yakut or Amur River blacksmiths.
Yakut women cut skin for clothing with such scissors. Nevertheless Koryak
women exhibited great joy when we presented them with ordinary narrow
iron scissors in return for services rendered, or for submitting to being measured,
and immediately pressed them into service.

321 Fig. 144, *b*, represents a knife with a long handle, specially used for
531 carving in bone or wood. However, this knife is also called a belt-knife,
and is worn at the belt in a sheath. Its wooden handle is covered with
322 sheet-brass which is adorned with scratches made with the point of a knife,
and evidently representing a technical ornament. Fig. 144, *c*, represents a
straight knife (*tamiñu-wal*, "working-knife"), and *d* a curved knife (*keñi-wal*,
"curved knife"), used in carving bone and wood, and in hollowing out spoons,
ladles, dippers, plates, and dishes.

326 Fig. 145 represents an iron chisel and an iron bow-drill for work in
412 wood. The chisel (*a*) has a curved edge for making holes. The handle of
the drill (*b*) and the bow are made of bone of whale. A similar bow-drill,
only with a smaller point made of steel, is used also in riveting old kettles,
and generally for boring in iron.

401 I did not happen to see a pump-drill in use. It is curious that the
[372] bow-drill is called in the Koryak language *mi'lgitine* ("fire-procuring"). This
321 points to the fact that the use of the bow-drill for procuring fire had preceded

¹ Murdoch (The Point Barrow Eskimo, Fig. 106, p. 153) mentions an ancient large single-edged slate knife of this shape, belonging to the Eskimo, and supposes that it was used specially for cutting food. I am inclined to think that it was a woman's knife for cutting skin. Its shape is quite similar to the woman's iron knife of the Koryak, whose blacksmiths doubtless originally imitated ancient stone models. In Mason's article on the woman's knife of the Eskimo (Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1890, p. 411) are collected types of woman's knives of the Eskimo and certain Indian tribes from various localities. These illustrations show that nearly all — both the stone knives, and those of iron made in imitation of the stone ones — have a crescent-shaped blade, just as in the case of the woman's iron knife of the Koryak. Nearly all knives of which illustrations are given by Mason have handles like those of chopping-knives. Only in three of them (see Plates LIX, LXIV, and LXVIII, Figs. 1, 4, 5) do we see a handle on the side, just as on our woman's knife.

² Ornamented women's knives are represented in Fig. 193.

³ See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 151, *c*, p. 222.

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Weapons and utensils:

- 1-three-pronged spear with a throwing board for hunting birds; 2-spear with a stone tip, and detail of spear; 3-blubber lamp on a wooden stand; 4-sack-net for fishing; 5-a man's knife; 6-a woman's knife for cutting skins; 7-fire-making by means of friction.

Long ago, the villages of sedentary Koryaks were fortified. Some of the Koryak forts, such as the Olyutorskiy, were surrounded by an earth wall and looked like fortresses. The reindeer-breeders also surrounded their encampments with defensive walls of sleds, walrus skins and rocks.

The reindeer-breeders' encampments usually consisted of 3 or 4 tents. In winter they lived in mountain valleys shielded from the wind; in summer, at the mouths of rivers. The villages of the coastal Koryaks were comparatively populous and were situated near bays, convenient for hunting and

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22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--290 N-2 (1897) 1898

Koryak

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"We did not see many of the household implements or weapons of these people. [the natives of Karaga village--Analyst] Besides knives, however, they all carried small leather bags, containing a piece of flint and tinder, and a heart-shaped piece of wood hollowed out to receive one or the other when a fire was to be lit."

K A M T S C H A T K A, &c. 225

greatest ceremony, and bear every affront. It was never heard ⁶¹⁹
 that the settled *Koreki* did the least injury to any of the ¹⁸²
 wanderers; and this is so firmly believed, that our tax-gatherers ³⁷⁸
 think themselves entirely safe, when they converse with those ⁴³⁸
 who live in huts, if they are guarded by one of the rein-
 deer *Koreki*: which may appear very strange, considering that
 the settled *Koreki* are much their superiors in strength; and
 it can only be attributed to that general respect which poor
 people pay to the rich: for the poverty of the settled *Ko-*
reki is so great, that they depend upon the others in a great
 measure for their cloathing. The rein-deer *Koreki* call the
 others their slaves, and treat them accordingly; but they behave ⁶⁰⁹
 very differently to the *Tchukotskoi*, who are so terrible to them,
 that fifty of the rein-deer *Koreki* dare not stand against twenty
 of these; and if it was not for the protection of the Cossacks
 of *Anadir*, the *Tchukotskoi* would have rooted them out by this
 time. As every nation has something commendable, so the *Koreki* ¹⁵⁷
 are more honest and industrious than the *Kamtshadales*, and seem
 to have a greater sense of shame.

It is difficult to form an exact account of the numbers and ⁵¹¹
 different families of the *Koreki*, but it is thought that all together ³⁴²
 they are more numerous than the *Kamtshadales*. They live in ³⁷²
 such places as abound with moss for their rein-deer, without re- ³¹²
 garding the scarcity of wood or water: in the winter time they
 can use snow for water, and for firing moss or grass, of which
 they have plenty every where. Their manner of living, espe-
 cially in the winter time, is still more disagreeable than that of
 the *Kamtshadales*: for being frequently obliged to change their
 habitations, the huts which they come into are all frozen; and
 when they begin to thaw them by the fires, which are usually
 made of green shrubs or grass, there arises a smoke, so per-
 nicious to the eyes, that it is enough to blind a person entirely
 in one day.

G g Their

I [i.e.; the Reindeer Koryak -- Analyst]